/633 cont./

582 vein -- that he show, aside from the maturity of judgment demanded, sufficient physical stamina to act the man fully and completely in making a living. In the case of girls, even
582 though actual maturity has long since taken place, the Foegians
626 wait until considerable physical fullness and a certain shapeliness have been attained, this being regarded as the necessary condition for motherhood. The shape of the breasts is not a decisive as the broadening of the hips, which sets in quite suddenly after the start of puberty. Once I heard: "As long as a girl is too slim and delicate, she must not give herself to a man; her child would be born too weak and small!" It is the mother herself who keeps her daughter in the family hut until, according to her judgment and that of her female neighbors, the girl has the physical strength to become a mother successfully for the first time. This is usually at the age of 15 or 16; a few strong girls marry a year earlier (7).

7. Bove (c):128 and (e):157, on the other hand, sets the marriageable age lower. "The marriage of Foegians generally takes place early; already at 12 or 13 years of age the girls run after men, but they do not become mothers until they are 17 or 18. The men marry between the ages of 14 and 16." Wieghardt:40 repeats this word for word. Lovisato (b):150 gives even lower figures. Hyades (q):377 mentions the 13th year for girls. According to Bridges (i):21, "girls were given in marriage from 14 years onward" /cited in English/. Hyades (f):373 is demonstrably inconsistent, for in another place he says: "Marriage takes place very late, about 18 or 20 years for girls, 25 for boys, on the average" /translated from French/.

584 /634/ As this account proves, boys and girls do not marry until they have fulfilled the requirements for a trouble-free economic life, on the one hand, and for healthy motherhood, on the other. This does not mean that occasionally a flirtation between

/1937 comm./

3. The Ideal Marriage Partner

581 Not a single essay by European travelers suggests that the young Foegians who are in love have a mental picture of an ideal partner, created by their wishes and transfigured by their romantic fancy. The young person eager to marry does not throw himself into the arms of any partner, freedom in the selection of a mate definitely shows that everyone is calculating and deliberate in choosing this or that person. This shows that all amorous desire moves in certain directions, the goal of which is the lovely vision of the ideal marriage partner. This picture is clearly drawn by certain suggestions in the teachings of the youth initiation. Here all the personal merits and social virtues that each boy Wild girl must exhibit in married life are emphatically named and recommended. Anyone who will make a list of the individual words that apply to this will get a complete picture of the ideal husband and the ideal wife, according to Yamana conceptions. We need only add to this the wishes for certain physical qualities which the other partner cherishes. In the case of most lovers, these are in the foreground, rather than good character traits.

581 First, the question of how the girl imagines the boy of her dreams. He must be strong and healthy, well built and nicely proportioned. Deformities that disfigure him, such as scars of burns or other scars and injuries, for example, broken limbs which impede free movement, make a young man less or not at all desirable (10). In former times, apparently, there were no

10. Bove (e):158 agrees: "A cripple, one who is eschitic, can cheerfully take the vow of celibacy, and women regard such a person as an unclean creature, a pariah." In Wieghardt:41 we read the same words.

obese and heavy figures among young people. On the other hand, a well-built, upright, limbs, and supple figure has the best prospects.

581 Moreover, a young man's whole appearance must definitely

/637 cont./

SH express courage and awareness of strength, adventuresome spirit and joyous vitality. Everyone esteems a young person who attacks a piece of work with zest and finishes it with playful ease, who cheerfully sets out to hunt and regularly returns with game, who always knows how to occupy himself in and around his hut, who briskly and nimbly lends a hand everywhere. All this expresses a brisk, lively temperament, and this is far preferable to a phlegmatic sluggishness, for the more infrequently social intercourse with other people is possible, the more oppressive the latter becomes within the intimate family circle. They avoid a violent and quarrelsome, peevish and moody chap, /638/ but they enthusiastically take to one who is unreserved and gets along well with everyone, who cheers people up and adjusts to them easily, and who is obliging.

In all this, the girl is less concerned with the definite traits of character which her beloved is supposed to have, but she unconsciously takes for granted his faithfulness and his complete devotion to her. Moreover, she expects him to be a good human being, free of crudeness in his behavior, free of uncontrolled outbursts of rage and tendencies toward violence, without, however, lacking courage, manly pride, and daring. Each quality that the girl in love observes in her chosen one she greets with quiet satisfaction or with a smile; sometimes she commends him modestly, just enough to attract gently the attention of her female friends.

SH In a similar intensification of personal wishes and expectations, the young chap has an ideal image of his mate. The girl of his choice must also be beautifully built and have a pleasing shape (11). A small, smooth face, quiet, clear eyes, a dainty

11. According to Spegazzini's (a):165 conception, a "natural selection" /cited in English/ applies to the decision of each of the two lovers, "because a young man rarely chooses a wife who is ugly or has defects, just as a woman never binds herself with youth who is deformed or imperfect" /translated from Spanish/.

mouth with thin lips, and a soft, gentle voice captivate his heart.

/638 cont./

581 Her body should be neither thin nor heavy. He is most pleased
•826 with a slender but rounded figure. With all her vivacity, her movements must not lack grace -- one would almost like to say distinction -- and a certain quiet dignity.

581 A quiet, silent creature who is not lacking in sympathy and lively fellow-feeling is extraordinarily esteemed. Loud quarreling, moody ill-humor, and irritable touchiness have a repulsive effect. Cleanliness of body and all material possessions, love of order in the hut and in personal belongings, an inexhaustible urge to be constantly busy, inconspicuous quietness in all daily work, affection for parents, and a happy disposition in dealing with small children -- these are virtues which even older women praise and which they constantly recommend to marriageable girls.

Lively, wholesome girls have good prospects of being courted; they are the ones who like to be teased, who consciously make a circle of young boys notice them, and who expect an understanding reply to their loud giggles. They bring life into a group of young people and, adroitly and quite spontaneously, provoke fun and flirtation in any circle.

Thus, our Yamana, too, have what we call an ideal of a beautiful and perfect mate, although in the tempestuous wishes and desires of youthful lovers it is made up chiefly of purely external characteristics. /639/ Blind love and extravagant fancy usually disregard inner qualities and character traits (12). Even

12. At this point I should like to refute the thoroughly false assertion of Spegazzini (a):165 that among these Fuegians "love as understood in the lofty sense of our society does not exist!" /Translated from Spanish./

someone like Spegazzini (a):165 admits "that the strongest and handsomest men are the ones who have more women and the most beautiful women. During my observations to see if the type regarded as beautiful were the same as among us, I noted that the men and women who appeared attractive to me not only attracted the glances of the opposite sex, but many times someone with a gleam in his eyes would point out a person to me and say: Uš-ganna (what a man)! Uš-gulpa (what a woman)!"

/1304 cont./

uttering a loud, hissing ɬ sound. The purpose of the latter is to weaken the baleful effect of the sea duck and hold in the kíopif of the children. Immediately after confinement the mother and her husband may not eat the meat of the ólka (p. 503). The parents are advised to abstain from it until their child enters the second year of life. From then on it is completely out of danger, whereas before that it might possibly die if its parents should often eat the meat of the sea duck.

When the rust-colored spectacled ibis, íkuwa (Theristicus melanopis), flies over the heads of mature girls, they cross their arms and press them against their breasts to hide them. If they did not do this, íkuwa would pull their breasts far down; this is a beauty flaw of which they complain a great deal. This íkuwa is also known as a sensitive woman who anxiously guards her honor.

I did not learn that the Yamana are superstitiously afraid of any kind of insects, but Bridges (a):212 writes: "Many insects are also much dreaded, from a belief that they enter the ear, and work their way into the body, and thus kill those they enter" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):204 says the same thing. Unfortunately, these references are too general.

Sometimes an unusually large cap-shaped shell (Fissurella) clings to a rock along the coast, below the lowest water level. It is regarded as the mistress of that region. All the women who are gathering marine animals in its vicinity must remain silent and respectful. If they do not do this, the píjakakípa, as it is called, causes strong eddies. The word píjaka is not a proper name, but a general term (compare RD:270); here it has its special meaning. The little hole in the flat shell is "the eye with which píjakakípa sees everything that happens around it."

If a father has lost a son in death, he abandons the male animals that he kills or he throws them into the water. If a daughter has died, he does not touch the female animals that he catches. He does this for several weeks after the death of his child to express his grief over the loss and to avenge himself, as it were, on Watagínéwa.

/1390 cont./

X 156 302 it is the rule that they paint themselves only when they are working toward some goal of their calling. Hence they reach for their pigment even in the dead of night if they awaken after special dreams and give themselves up to serious meditation. Most often the yékamuf rubs his face and hair with dry powdered lime. In former times he also applied it to the upper part of his body, that is, before he covered it with European clothing. Sometimes he concerns himself with drawing a finger-thick white stripe under his nose from one ear lobe to the other. It is rare that he draws this line in red. Sometimes, of course, he forgoes any kind of painting, but even then he can be recognized clearly enough by his apawéya. Later on the painting of candidates in the medicine-man school will be described; this, too, shows clearly the preference of the yékamuf for white (304).

304. Earlier reports, for example, by Spegazzini (s):169, which mention another kind of outfit for the medicine man do not correspond to my experiences.

X 156 ● 304 It is difficult to explain how the Yamana imagine the physical constitution of their medicine men. The latter have -- as I learned -- a phantom body which, to the eyes of ordinary Yamana, looks like the body of one of their own people. The skin of the yékamuf, above all, is supposed to be indescribably tender and thin, while the entire periphery of the body is supposed to exceed that of any other human being by far. According to measurements given to me, the diameter of a medicine man exceeds even 100 meters. Nevertheless, he looks like an ordinary Yamana to the eyes of the people around him. In the final analysis, it seems to me that this so-called periphery is best explained as the zone of influence of the yékamuf, for it is said: "the yékamuf knows everything that is present and that goes on within this periphery as definitely as though it were inside his body." This explanation is confirmed by the following. The Yamana also say: "If a yékamuf wounds himself or if his body changes in any way, our eyes are deceived. We see all this in the way in which such things happen to our own body.

/1390 cont./
but in reality it is not the same in the case of a *yihanuf*." No one is able to give more specific explanations, and many Tarasco /1391/ themselves undoubtedly do not have a clear conception of what it is that they always affirm in these same words. It [71] seems to me that a reference to the view of the Seki'tarn about their medicine men is justified (Vol. I, 760). Many details that they attribute to their *ppe* exactly fit the *yihanuf* of our Tarasco, for example, the extreme sensitiveness of the skin that it is so easily injured. In the following lines there are a few more supplementary remarks about this strange conception of the Tarasco concerning the physical being, or rather the physical make-up, of their *yihanuf*.

### 3. His Psychic Nature

In view of the preceding description it is not surprising that the Tarasco are able to say little about the mental side and the psychic make-up of a medicine man. They do not try to penetrate this area, which is difficult of access, and content themselves with what they comprehend with their senses about the operations of the *yihanuf*. The latter is primarily dependent upon personal feelings and incomprehensible fantasy images, which he neither clearly reveals nor describes in plain words. Thus one can only describe the manner in which the *yihanuf* operates as it presents itself to careful observation. The Seki'tarn have a lucid body of ideas about their *ppe* and their basic thoughts about their medicine-man system are well developed. In this respect the notions of what surrounds and constitutes the personality of the *yihanuf* are far inferior. This difference in scope as well as in the comprehension of the ideas and conceptions of the medicine-man system between the two Pueblan tribes is of decisive weight from a culture-history point of view.

A few basic facts about the manner of operation and the sphere of action of the *yihanuf* will at least permit a clear judgment. This is all the more important inasmuch as there is a widespread view that everything a medicine man does is only a refined type of deception and eminently calculated swindle.